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Combining motivations and emotion: The motivational dynamics of protest participation

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Abstract

We conducted a study to investigate the motivational dynamics of protest participation. Previous research suggests that instrumental and identity motives together with group-based anger predict people's intentions to participate in protest. The present research combines these motives with ideology into a single model. So far, no study has tested such a model or attempted to assess the motives' relative weight. Our results replicated previous findings by showing that instrumentality, identity, and ideology together with group-based anger motivates people to participate in protest. Importantly, our study extended previous findings by showing that these factors account for variance in motivation among actual participants. More specifically, ideology appeared to be the strongest motivator of protest participation, followed by identity and instrumentality. Next to these main effects, we obtained interaction effects between the three motives and group-based anger, demonstrating the need for complex and sophisticated models.

Keywords: Collective action, emotion, identity, motivation.

Integrando la motivación y la emoción: la dinámica de la motivación para la participación en la protesta

Resumen

Se realizó un estudio de campo para investigar la dinámica motivacional de la participación en la protesta política. Estudios previos sugieren que la instrumentalidad, la identidad y la ira grupal son motivos que predicen la intención de participar en la protesta. Esta investigación combina en un único modelo esos motivos y la ideología. Hasta ahora ningún estudio había analizado este último modelo ni había intentado conocer el peso relativo de esos motivos. Nuestros resultados replican estudios previos al mostrar que la instrumentalidad, la identidad y la ideología además de la ira grupal motiva a la gente a participar en la protesta. Pero más importante que eso es que nuestro estudio amplía esos resultados previos al mostrar que esos factores informan de la varianza en la motivación entre participantes en la protesta. Más específicamente, la ideología resultó ser el factor motivacional más fuerte seguido de la identidad y la instrumentalidad. Junto a esos efectos principales se obtuvieron efectos de interacción entre los tres motivos y la ira grupal, lo que demuestra la necesidad de contar con modelos complejos y sofisticados.

Palabras clave: Acción colectiva, emoción, identidad, motivación.

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On Saturday 2 October 2004 more than 300,000 protesters took to the streets of Amsterdam to protest against austerity plans regarding early retirement rights. Why would someone decide to go to Amsterdam and participate in a street demonstration? In other words, what motivates people to participate in protest?

Over the last two decades, various motives have been explored that stimulate people to engage in protest. Initially the focus was on the perceived costs and benefits of participation (Klandermans, 1984). Participation was seen as an opportunity to change a state of affairs at affordable costs. It became clear, however, that instrumental reasoning is not a sufficient reason to participate in protest. Gradually, the significance of collective identity as a motive became clearer (e.g., de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Reicher, 1984; Simon et al., 1998), while recent work demonstrated the importance of group-based anger (e.g., van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Thus, three possible pathways to protest participation have been explored: instrumentality, identity, and group-based anger.

Although progress has certainly been made in explaining protest participation, we argue that an important motive has received too little attention: ideology. Klandermans (2004) argued that people may also participate in protest, because they want to address an opponent that has violated their values. Therefore he proposed to add an ideological motive in addition to the instrumental and identity motives. In the present research we investigate how instrumentality, identity, and ideology together with group-based anger motivate people to participate in protest. We are not aware of any study investigating the impact of these three motives and emotions on protest participation in a single, integrative framework. Therefore, little is known about the relative weight of these motives and emotions in the motivational constellation of protest participation.

In one more respect this study is different from others. Protest studies, so far, usually investigated self-reported future behaviour or reported past behaviour. *Retrospective* (Dubé & Guimond, 1986; Stürmer & Simon, 2004), *prospective* (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987), *experimental* (e.g. Simon et al., 1998; van Zomeren et al., 2004) as well as *meta-analytical* (van Zomeren, Postmes & Spears, 2008) studies have shown that instrumentality, identity and group-based anger are strongly associated with protest participation. But neither self-reported participation nor intentions to participate necessarily lead to actual participation (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999). Of people sampled in the act of protest, however, we know for sure that they have taken part in protest. Therefore we maintain that studying the motivational dynamics of people who are actually protesting will add significantly to our understanding of protest participation

Motivations and Emotion

At the heart of every protest are grievances. Although they don't provide a sufficient explanation for protest to occur or for people to take part in protest activities (e.g., McCarthy & Zald, 1976), grievances are important motivators. Every demand for change begins with grievances, be it the experience of illegitimate inequality, feelings of relative deprivation, feelings of injustice, moral indignation about some state of affairs, or a suddenly imposed grievance (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007; 2010). However, even if protesters are similarly aggrieved, they do not necessarily have to be equally motivated or motivated for the same reason. We argue that the motivational constellation underlying most protest participation is comprised of three participation motives (instrumentality, identity, and ideology) together with group-based anger.

Instrumentality. The instrumental motive is derived from Klandermans' (1984) social psychological expansion of resource mobilization theory. According to this theory,

protest participation is seen as instrumental to improve the deprived situation of the group. Following Klandermans (1984) and Simon et al. (1998), we conceptualize instrumental motives in terms of values and expectancies, whereby values (i.e., redressing grievances) stand in a multiplicative relationship to expectancies (i.e., the perceived efficacy of the protest). That is to say that, as far as instrumental considerations are concerned, the values only impact on action participation if protest is perceived to be effective, and efficacy of protest only matters if it produces something of value. However, several scholars have questioned whether movement participation could be fully explained by instrumental considerations (Schrager, 1985). An important limitation of this account is its neglect of *social* and *ideological* aspects of protest participation (Schrager, 1985).

Identity. Social psychologists have pointed to the role of identification in protest participation, be it identification with elderly, obese or gays (Stürmer & Simon, 2004), farmers (de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999), or former East Germans (Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999). The basic assumption of all these studies is that the stronger one's identification with a social category, the stronger one's motivation to participate in protest on behalf of that category. The focus changes from what 'I' want to what 'we' want (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Protest participation is seen as a way to show who 'we' are and what 'we' stand for, and what 'we' have in common by way of shared grievances, aims, values or goals. This motivation will be even stronger if the group's identity is politicized (de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Stürmer & Simon, 2004). As politicized collective identities tend to organize themselves into social movement organizations, the identity motive takes the form of identification with the movement organization. Identification with the movement organization is shown to be a very effective motivator of participation in protest staged by that organization.

Studies, so far, suggest a *dual-pathway* to protest participation: (a) an instrumental path controlled by the costs and benefits of participation and (b) an identification path guided by identity processes (cf. Simon et al., 1998). In their research Simon and collaborators demonstrate that the identity path and the instrumental path add to each other (see Stürmer & Simon, 2004 for an overview). Rather than replacing instrumentality as an explanatory paradigm, identity adds to the explanation as a second path.

Group-based anger. For many years, the cognitive revolution with its emphasis on rationality made emotions play the second fiddle in protest studies. Recently, however, we see a renewed attention for the role of emotions. An example is the dual pathway model forwarded by van Zomeren and colleagues (2004). These authors propose to add a group-based anger path—next to the instrumental path—to protest.

The instrumental path builds on approaches emphasizing the perceived costs and benefits of protest (e.g., Klandermans, 1984; Simon et al., 1998) as well as group members' perceived efficacy to solve group-related problems (e.g., Mummendey et al., 1999). The group-based anger path relies on two theories that point to the experience of group-based anger as explanations of protest, namely intergroup emotions theory (Smith, 1993) and relative deprivation theory (e.g., Dubé & Guimond, 1986). Rather than seeing each approach to protest as offering a competing explanation, van Zomeren and colleagues show that the two paths add to one another. Once again the second—emotional—path does not replace the instrumental path.

Ideology. We regard people as ideologically motivated when they indicate that their values have been violated and they want to air their indignation. As Klandermans (2004, p. 684) states: "People are angry, develop feelings of moral indignation about some state of affairs or some government decision, and wish to make that known. They participate in a protest not only to enforce political change but to gain dignity in their lives through struggle and moral expression". Ideological motives rely on an assumption derived from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In this theory

people's motivation to participate in protest depends to a significant extent on their perception of a state of affairs as illegitimate, in the sense that it goes against fundamental values. People defend values in a variety of ways and react strongly when these are challenged or frustrated (Feather & Newton, 1982). Indeed, "values are standards employed to tell us which beliefs, attitudes, values, and actions of others are worth challenging, protesting, and arguing about, or worth trying to influence or change" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 13).

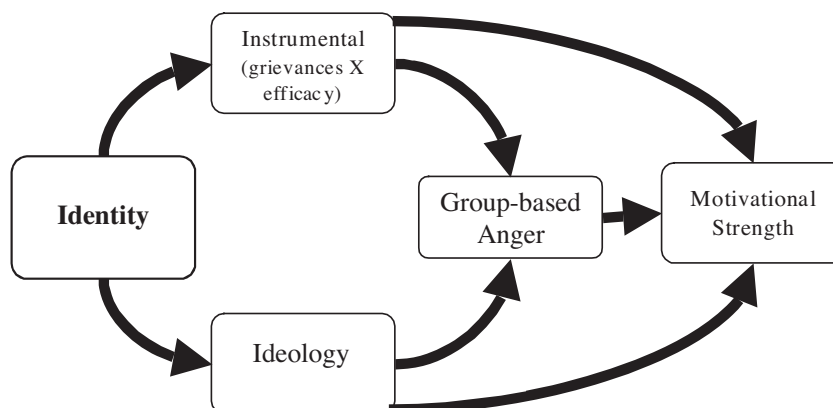
An Integrative Model

We hold that the three motives and group-based anger complement each other rather than being competing paradigms. As we are not aware of any study investigating instrumentality, identity, ideology and group-based anger as an integrated framework, our first step will be to bring the four factors into a single equation and to assess their relative weight in the explanation of protest participation. In doing so we will replicate the studies of Klandermans (1984), Simon et al. (1998), and van Zomeren et al. (2004). The two dual path models—and in fact we have added a fourth path—are basically predicting main effects of instrumentality, identity, ideology, and group-based anger. Indeed, we suppose that each factor adds uniquely to the explained variance in protest participation.

There is, however, no reason to assume that the four factors do not interact. We propose that instrumentality, identity, ideology, and group-based anger are interrelated, and thus, influence protest participation indirectly in addition to their direct impact. In the following paragraphs we will further elaborate on these indirect effects.

Identity as the integrative mechanism. In taking direct and indirect effects into account, we depart from the notion that group identification functions as an integrative mechanism. Group identification creates the awareness of similarity, solidarity and shared fate with others who belong to the same category (Brewer & Silver, 2000) and make people 'feel for us' (cf. Yzerbyt, Dumont, Wigboldus, & Gordijn, 2003). The more someone identifies with a group, the more she will adopt the reasons *why* the group acts, thus the more 'the group is in me', the more I incorporate the group's motives, the more 'I feel for us' and 'act for us'. Group identification therefore pulls the four motivational paths together and functions as an integrative mechanism. That is to say, because I identify with my group, I share the grievances of my group—be it for instrumental or ideological reasons—and share its anger and motivation to take part in protest (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1
Integrative model accounting for motivational strength to participate in protest



Group-based anger as amplifier. Unlike van Zomeren et al. (2004), we argue that group-based anger amplifies existing motives rather than makes for a separate path (Klandermans, van der Toorn & van Stekelenburg, 2008; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007). To account for this emotions-as-amplifier-hypothesis, we propose that group-based anger mediates between instrumental motives and protest participation and ideological motives and protest participation. The literature provides some further theoretical foundation for such mediations. As for the instrumental motive, remember that this motive is composed of grievances and efficacy. Grievances combined with feelings of efficacy elicit anger (Roseman, Antoniou, & Jose, 1996). This makes us assume that strong feelings of efficacy not only help the instrumental motive grow through its multiplicative relationship with grievances, but also intensifies group-based anger and thus furthermore amplifies the motivation to participate in protest. In statistical terms this implies that efficacy moderates the effect of grievances on group-based anger.

Anger presumably amplifies the ideological motive as well. This is underscored by research pointing to the fact that *appraisals of unfairness* (Weiss, Suckow, & Cropanzano, 1999) and *illegitimacy* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; van Zomeren et al., 2004) cause anger. This fits very well with the ideological path to action. Ideologically-based anger results from the assessment that authorities should and could have taken measures differently. Indeed, in such cases the authority's policy is seen as unfair and illegitimate. In statistical terms this implies that anger mediates the effect of ideological motives.

A Remark on Motivational Strength. The outcome variable of the present study is motivational strength rather than participation vs. non-participation. In the remainder of this paper we discuss a study in which we examine the motivational strength of people who were sampled in the act of protesting. Sampling those people that *actually* participate, implicates that these people *are* motivated and fall necessarily on the right side of the normal distribution. However, this does not imply that all participants were equally motivated or motivated for the same reason. On the contrary, one may assume that the motivational strength and the constellation of motives of the people who end up participating vary. It is this variation that we are interested in.

In sum. The model developed is depicted in Figure 1. The arrows represent the direct and indirect effects discussed. The four main effects are straightforward: the stronger the motives and the group-based anger the larger someone's motivational strength. The indirect effects concern the mediating role of instrumental and ideological motives between identity motives and group-based anger and the amplifying effect of group-based anger: the stronger someone's identity motive, the stronger her instrumental and ideological motives will be, which in turn increases her anger; and the more angry she is the stronger her motivation to participate will be.

Method

Procedure

Data were collected during a large demonstration (300,000 protesters) in Amsterdam against austerity plans regarding early retirement rights simultaneously staged by the labor movement and the anti-neo-liberalism movement. Participants were sampled at the actual demonstration, in the heat of the battle, right on the spot. This kind of field research is conducted in a crowded, unpredictable and erratic environment, contrary to the controlled studies conducted in the laboratory. To guarantee representativeness of the findings we relied on two techniques developed, tested, and refined by Walgrave and colleagues (van Aelst & Walgrave, 2001). The first technique is a devise to guarantee that every protester in the area where the protest event takes place has an equal chance of being selected by one of the interviewers with the request to fill in a postal survey. Interviewers were evenly dispersed around the protest area and instructed to hand a

postal survey to a protester every n's step to the middle of the square were the protest took place. Employing this method 1000 postal surveys were distributed of which 45 percent were returned. The second technique is a device to control for non-response bias. In addition to the postal survey, 250 short face-to-face interviews of approximately 2 minutes were conducted. The face-to-face interviews comprised of single items of the most important variables and some socio-demographics. With a response rate close to 100% the face-to-face interviews could serve to assess biases due to non-response and (if so) to control for it. Comparisons of the postal surveys and the face-to-face interviews revealed *no* significant difference between the two samples¹. Therefore, the reported analyses will be based on the postal questionnaires.

Participants

Fifty-two percent of the participants ($N = 449$) were male; on average they were 48 years old; the level of education was high (57% had finished high school and 40% had a Bachelor or Master degree). Sixty-nine percent were members of an organization affiliated to the social movement that organized the demonstration.

Measures

The measures concerned instrumentality, identity, ideology, group-based anger and motivational strength. All variables were measured on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

Instrumental motive. Following Klandermans (1984) and Simon et al. (1998), the instrumental motive was operationalized in terms of values and expectancies. The value of expected outcomes was multiplied by the expectancy that the protest event would contribute to achieving the outcome. The value component was stated as: "*To what extent are you (dis)satisfied by the government plans concerning early retirement rights?*" The expectancy component was stated as: "*To what extent do you think that this protest event will contribute to persuading the government not to implement its plans concerning early retirement rights?*"

Identity motive. This motive is measured with four items, emotional significance ("I like being part of this social movement organization [SMO]"), commitment ("I feel committed to this SMO"), shared 'we' ("I have much in common with other members"), and involvement ("I am involved in this SMO"). The items loaded on a single factor and accordingly we calculated one identity motive measure (identity motive: Cronbach's $\alpha = .96$) for each respondent by averaging responses over items.

Ideology motive. This motive was measured by four items: I am protesting because: "*I want to take my responsibility/The proposed government policy is against my principles/I find the proposed government policy unfair/I find the proposed government policy unjust*". They loaded on a single factor and accordingly we calculated the ideology motive (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$) for each respondent by averaging responses over items.

Group-based anger. Following van Zomeren et al. (2004), we measured group-based anger with four items "*Thinking about the government proposals makes me feel... (angry, irritated, furious, displeased)*". We obtained a reliable scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$).

Motivational strength. Respondents indicated the strength of their motivation to participate with the following item: "*How determined were you to participate in this protest event?*"

Results

Preliminary analyses

Table I presents the correlations, means and standard deviations of the outcome and predictor variables. Grievances and efficacy are included in the table both separately

and in combination as instrumentality. Note the very high correlation of efficacy and instrumentality. Indicating that the instrumentality motive is determined more by the efficacy component than the grievance component. At the same time, the efficacy component does not correlate with motivational strength, unlike the grievance component. This suggests that the participants are taking part in the demonstration because they are aggrieved and less so because they believe that the demonstration will make a difference. We will get back to the issue later in this results section. The correlations of the four motivators with the strength of motivation show that instrumentality, identity, ideology, and group-based anger are all positively related to motivational strength, indicating that the stronger these motivators are the higher the motivational strength.

TABLE I
Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Grievances	6.30	1.21	—						
2. Efficacy	4.45	1.77	-.13**	—					
3. Instrumentality*	26.45	11.68	.37***	.86***	—				
4. Identity	4.14	2.44	.09†	.15***	.19***	—			
5. Group-based anger	5.33	1.52	.28***	.17***	.16***	.13***	—		
6. Ideology	6.34	0.82	.31***	.02	.05	.18***	.36***	—	
7. Motivational Strength	6.41	1.06	.28***	.02	.16***	.27***	.36***	.40***	—

Note: Valid N (listwise) 436. All variables (except instrumental motives) on a scale ranging from 1 = not at all – 7 very much, except value ranging from 1 = very satisfied – 7 very dissatisfied.

* Grievances multiplied by efficacy ranging from 1–49

† $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$, one-tailed test

The motivational strength of actual protesters varied from 1 to 7 (on a 7 point scale) with a mean of 6.41 ($SD = 1.05$). Indicating that despite the fact that all the respondents took part in the demonstration (and apparently were sufficiently motivated) they diverged in their motivational strength.

Main Effects

To test the influence of the instrumental model of Klandermans (1984) and the dual-path models of Simon et al. (1998) and van Zomeren et al. (2004), and to investigate the extent to which ideology adds to the explained variance in the motivational strength hierarchical regression analyses were conducted with the three motives and group-based anger as independent variables (all variables are standardized). First, we tested the instrumental path as defined by Klandermans (1984, Model 1), next the dual-path model as suggested by Simon et al. (1998, Model 2), and third, the dual-path model as proposed by van Zomeren et al. (2004, Model 3). In Model 4 the three paths are combined, and in Model 5 we added the ideology path (Table II).

In the first model the findings of Klandermans (1984) are replicated, demonstrating that instrumentality influences the motivation to participate. In the second model, the findings of Simon et al. (1998) are replicated, showing that instrumentality and identity both independently influence the motivation to participate. In the third model, the findings of van Zomeren et al. (2004) are replicated, showing that instrumentality and group-based anger both independently influence the strength of the motivation to participate. Including instrumentality, identity and group-based anger into a single equation (Model 4) renders instrumentality, net of identity and group-based anger, insignificant. In the fifth model, the ideological motive was

TABLE II
*Hierarchical Regression of Motivational Strength on Instrumental, Identity, Ideology Motives
 and Group-Based Anger*

Motivational Strength	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Instrumental motive	.18***	.13**	.10*	.08	.05
Identity motive		.24***		.22***	.18***
Group-based anger			.34***	.32***	.23***
Ideology motive					.29***
Model F	12.84***	19.32***	10.78***	30.76***	34.98***
df	1,401	2,400	2,400	3,399	4,398
Adjusted R ²	.03	.09	.14	.18	.26
R ² change		.06***	.11*** ^a	.09*** ^b	.08***

Note: Coefficients are standardized regression weights (betas)

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, one-tailed test

F total $F(6,415) = 34.34$, $p < .001$, R^2 total = .34

^a R^2 change between model 1 and model 3

^b R^2 change between model 2 and model 4

introduced. This appeared to be an important motivator. The data revealed that the ideology motive was the strongest ($\beta = .29$), followed by group-based anger ($\beta = .23$), identity ($\beta = .18$) and, finally, by instrumental motives ($\beta = .05$).

Thus, once identity and group-based anger are included in the equation the instrumental motives no longer impact uniquely on motivational strength. However, if we deconstruct instrumentality into its two constituting elements—grievances and efficacy—grievances alone remain significant throughout without changing the impact of the other motives too much, while efficacy has no separate effect on motivational strength². This again points to the more complex interaction between grievances and efficacy. Later in this section we will conduct separate analyses to clarify the interaction of these two variables.

Mediating Effects of Instrumentality and Ideology on Group-based Anger

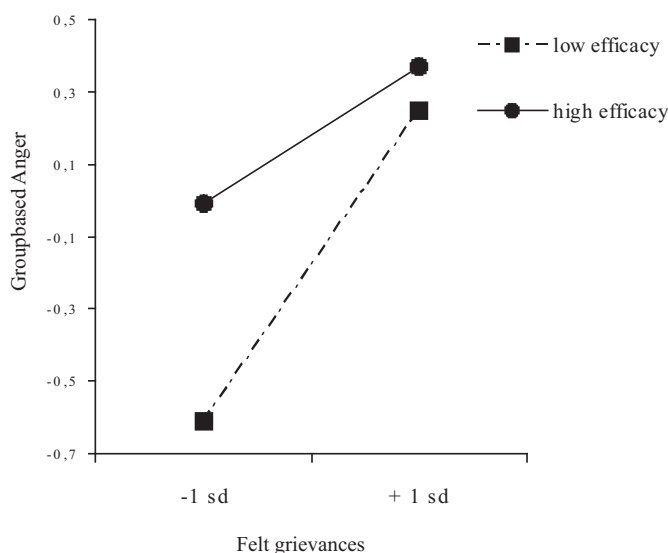
We hypothesized that instrumentality and ideology mediate the relation between identity and group-based anger. To test these hypotheses two hierarchical regression analyses were conducted, in the first group-based anger was regressed on identity and instrumentality and the second on identity and ideology. When identity and instrumentality were included as predictors of group-based anger, instrumentality predicts group-based anger, whereas the beta for identity was reduced from .17 ($p < .001$) to .10, ($p = .04$) indicating partial mediation (Sobel's Z-value = 2.55, $p = .01$).

The same strategy was followed to test the mediational effects of ideology on the relationship between identity and group-based anger. An assessment of the indirect effect of ideology on group-based anger revealed that ideology reduces the effect of identity on group-based anger significantly (from $\beta = .13$, $p < .01$ to $\beta = .07$, $p = .14$, Sobel's Z-value = 3.07, $p = .002$). This suggests full mediation. Thus, identification with the SMO enhances both instrumentality and ideology, which in turn makes people angrier.

Decomposing Instrumentality. As indicated, instrumentality is a composite of grievances and efficacy. We hypothesized that strong feelings of efficacy help the instrumental motive grow through its multiplicative relationship with grievances. Hence, efficacy plays a key role in the instrumental path in the sense that *only* among protesters who feel efficacious grievances reinforces group-based anger. To test this

hypothesis, we conducted a moderation analysis with efficacy multiplied by grievances as predictor and group-based anger as outcome variable. As expected, efficacy moderates the relationship between grievances and group-based anger: if you feel efficacious you are angry even if you are moderately aggrieved (simple slope $\beta = .18$, *ns*, see Figure 2); if you feel little efficacious you are angry only if you feel highly aggrieved (simple slope $\beta = .43$, $p = .02$). Indeed as hypothesized, the anger of protesters is fuelled by strong feelings of efficacy, but somewhat different than we presumed: high levels of efficacy are, as hypothesized, sufficient to raise people's anger both for moderate and high levels of grievances. Contrary to our hypothesis, however, *low* levels of efficacy combined with *high* levels of grievances make people also angry. Hence, inefficacious but highly aggrieved protesters are angry too. We will return to this in the discussion.

FIGURE 2
The interaction of grievances and efficacy on group-based anger



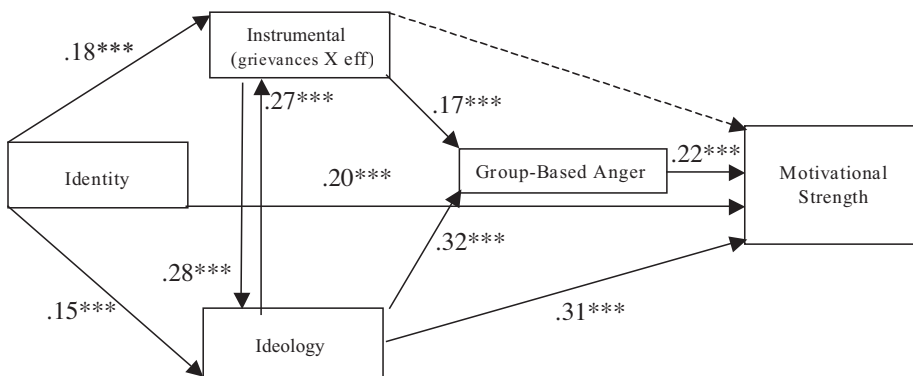
Ideology and group-based anger. We hypothesized that group-based anger mediates also between ideology and motivational strength. We argued that, next to being angry due to feelings of efficacy, anger could stem from appraisals of unfairness or illegitimacy as well. Mediation analysis reveals that ideological motives appeared to be strongly related to motivational strength ($\beta = .40$, $p < .001$), while the regression coefficient of ideological motives reduces from .40 to .30 ($p < .001$) when group-based anger is entered in the equation, indicating partial mediation. This points to the role of group-based anger as amplifier of ideological motives next to the amplifying role of group-based anger in the instrumental path.

Structural equation modelling

So far, we tested the direct and indirect effects separately. To allow for a straight test of the hypothesized direct and indirect effects simultaneously and thus to test the fit of the proposed model, we employed structural equation modelling. Our original model (Figure 1) did not fit the data very well, with a significant chi-square value, $\chi^2(1, 449) = 33.88$, $p < .001$. Moreover, other fit indices indicated poor fit as well: CFI = .88, NFI = .88 and RMSEA = .15 (see Hu & Bentler, 1999). In an attempt to improve the model we fixed the instrumental path to zero because the direct effect of instrumental

motives on motivational strength was insignificant ($\beta = .03$, $p = .56$). Thus, the findings of the main analyses, that instrumental motives were completely translated into group-based anger, were replicated with structural equation analysis. Moreover, we added a path from ideology to instrumentality and *vice versa*, as suggested by the modification indices. The path coefficient from ideology to instrumentality is $\beta = .27$ ($p < .001$) and *vice versa* $\beta = .28$ ($p < .001$) indicating a tight reciprocal relationship between these two motives. As can be seen in Figure 3, all the other proposed paths are highly significant. The resulting model revealed an excellent fit ($\chi^2[2, 449] = 1.22$, $p = .54$, CFI = 1.00, NFI = 1.00 and RMSEA = $< .001$).

FIGURE 3
Structural Equation Modelling: Integrative model



Note. *** = $p < .001$, one-tailed test (dashed lines represent insignificant paths).

These findings indicate that identity, ideology, and group-based anger directly influence motivational strength. In addition to these main effects, identity motives enhance both instrumental and ideological motives, which on their turn make people angrier and even more motivated to participate in protest as indicated by the strength of their motivation.

Discussion

The results of the present study provide insights into the motivational dynamics of protest participation. Instrumentality, identity, ideology and group-based anger are shown to influence protesters' motivation. Our study is in more than one respect unique. In the first place, we are not aware of any research investigating the motivational dynamics of people sampled in the act of protesting, that is of those people who were actually participating. Secondly, previous research proposed and tested the impact of various motives, but to our knowledge no one has ever studied the various motives together and assessed their relative weights. In the third place, we do not know of studies which have tried to disentangle the mediating and moderating effects of identity, instrumentality, ideology, and group-based anger.

Previous research suggested that identity motives (Simon et al., 1998) and group-based anger (van Zomeren et al., 2004) are determinants of the motivation to participate in protest in addition to instrumental motives (Klandermans, 1984). Our study replicated and extended these findings by combining the two dual-path models into a single model and adding a third motive, ideology.

Integrating the dual-paths models into a single model explained more variance than the two approaches separately. Thus, rather than being competing paradigms they indeed complement each other. Moreover, the present findings indicate that it is



fruitful to add an ideological motive to the model. The ideological motive added another 8% to the variance already explained by instrumental and identity motives and group-based anger. Integrating the three motives and group-based anger into a single model revealed two unexpected findings regarding the instrumental motives. Whereas identity and ideological motives and group-based anger directly feed into motivational strength, instrumental motives are fully mediated by group-based anger. We will elaborate on this finding when we discuss the effects of grievances and efficacy on motivational strength. Moreover, ideological and instrumental motives appear to be in a tight reciprocal relationship. Remember, however, that the correlation between ideology and grievances is .31 and that of efficacy .02. Thus it is the grievance component of instrumentality that is responsible for the link between instrumentality and ideology.

One of our aims was to assess the relative weight of the three motives and group-based anger in the explanation of motivational strength. Although all three motives played a role and group-based anger amplified the motivational force, ideological motives weighted most, followed by identity motives and instrumental motives respectively. The protesters felt that the austerity plans regarding early retirement rights disadvantaged their group, which violated their values so that they wanted to air their indignation and anger about it. This suggests that our protesters were more eager to express their indignation together with other members of the social movement organisation, than to change policy regarding the proposed early retirement plans. This is also what our findings with regard to the grievance and efficacy components of instrumentality seem to suggest. Whether this was specific for this protest remains to be seen, but we hold it for plausible that different protest events produce diverging motivational constellations, which implies that the constellation revealed here is specific for this demonstration.

Identity and protest participation

Identification processes appear to play an integrating role in the motivational dynamics of protest participation. The finding that identity motives feed directly into motivational strength was replicated, indicating that identification influences the strength of motivation sufficiently to take to the streets; nevertheless our present study suggest that identification also play a vital role with regard to the motives to take part in protest participation. The stronger people's identification, the more they display instrumental and/or ideological motives which in turn makes them angrier. These results reveal that identity-based participation not only stems from commitment and solidarity but also impacts on the motivational constellation that spurs people on to take the street. Such direct and indirect effects of identification remind us that protest participation is contingent on defining oneself as part of a collective, and underscores the central role of identity in protest participation.

Instrumental and ideological motives and anger

Klandermans (1984) argued that grievances are necessary but not sufficient for protest participation to occur. He showed that besides being aggrieved, individuals must also have the expectation that protest leads to improvement of the situation. Unpacking the instrumental path by concentrating on the mediating and moderating effects of grievances, efficacy and group-based anger on motivational strength revealed even more complex relations in the instrumental path in which efficacy plays a significant role. On the one hand, our findings suggest that people are demonstrating because they are aggrieved and less so because they believe that the demonstration will make a difference. This explains why the instrumentality motives weighted less than the other two motives. On the other hand, feelings of efficacy appear to increase group-based anger

dramatically, especially in combination with strong grievances. In turn, group-based anger fosters someone's motivation to take part in protest considerably. Thus indirectly through its impact on group-based anger—provided that someone is aggrieved—efficacy has a significant influence on the motivation to participate in protest. We observed a similar amplifying mechanism with regard to the ideological motive. This suggests that rather than acting as a separate pathway (cf. van Zomeren et al., 2004), group-based anger acts as an amplifier, that is, reinforces already existing motives.

But remember the unexpected finding that inefficacious but highly aggrieved protesters were angry too. If it was not efficacy that spurred their anger, what else made them angry? Gould (2008) points to the role of despair in the context of social movement mobilization. It is possible that the anger of inefficacious but highly aggrieved protesters is rooted in despair or frustration caused by goal obstruction³. This seems to indicate that protesters can be angry out of hope and despair. It would be worthwhile to investigate these different 'shades' of anger.

Methodological Considerations and Future Directions

Prior to discussing possible limitations of our study and some future directions, we devote a few words to the method we employed. Collecting valid and reliable data on protest behavior requires careful consideration. As a consequence, researchers tend to resort to protest participation in the past (e.g., World Value Survey) or people are asked about their intentions to participate in future protest. However, both methods hamper a thorough investigation of protest participation. Surveys usually relate to protest in general; most of the time only a small proportion of the respondents reports having participated, while it is often unclear what the protest was about. The problem with intentions, on the other hand, is that they are weak predictors of actual participation (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). A third option is the one employed in the current research, namely, to approach participants in the act of protesting. This implies that actual participation instead of intentions are the point of departure and that characteristics of the event can be taken into account. Field research investigating people's motives in the act of protesting calls for specific research methods to gather reliable data. The two strategies developed by Walgrave and colleagues (van Aelst & Walgrave, 2001) are designed for that setting. Area sampling helps to ensure that every protester has a relatively equal chance of being selected and comparing face-to-face interviews with returned questionnaires provides a check for response bias. This method is particularly designed to obtain data on attitudes, motivations, emotions, socio-demographics, and mobilization channels.

Future directions

Although our integrative model proved to be useful in displaying the motivational constellation of protesters, it begs the question of whether the model can be generalized to predict why some do participate while others do not. The predictions to be formulated would be fairly straightforward: the stronger people's motivation (be it instrumental, identity, or ideological) and the stronger their anger, the more likely they are to participate. Future research is needed to test this assumption.

Perhaps a more interesting line of research might be to focus on the question of whether the observed motivational constellation is always the same. We believe this to be very unlikely. Remember that our protesters were taking part not so much because they believed that the demonstration would make a difference but rather to express their view and air their indignation. It seems hard to believe that this is always the case. Take for instance, workers going on strike for wage increases or other bread and butter issues. One may expect that they take part because they see a strike as an effective way to exert pressure on management and hence, unlike

our respondents, will be predominantly instrumentally motivated. Or, take participants in a protest event against neo-liberal globalisation. It might well be that sheer moral indignation spurs them to protest. An intergroup conflict may be defined in terms of material interests, conflicting principles, or both. If a conflict is defined in terms of material interests, protest is more likely to be viewed as a means to promote one's interests, so that people are inclined to take the instrumental path. If, on the other hand, a conflict is defined in terms of conflicting principles, protest is more likely to be seen as a way to express one's views and indignation, and hence people take the ideological path (cf. van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2009).

All this comes down to the question of whether motivational dynamics differ from demonstration to demonstration and how such differences relate to features of the actors involved and the context in which the action takes place. Little is known about how motivations and emotions vary from demonstration to demonstration and the factors that bring this variation about. In fact, we believe that the key question to be addressed in future research is how the mobilising context shapes the motivational dynamics of individual protesters rather than why people participate in protest or not. The methodology and model we employed is well suited for such comparative research endeavours.

Notes

¹ The interviewed and surveyed protesters did not differ statistically in terms of gender (face-to-face 55% male, postal survey 52%), age (face-to-face: mean 50 year; postal survey: mean 48 year), educational level (face-to-face: 56% high school, 41% Bachelor or Master degree; postal survey: 57% high school, 40% Bachelor or Master degree), membership of the mobilizing organization (face-to-face: 72% member; postal survey: 69% member), or motivation (face-to-face: Instrumentality, 4.6, Identity 4.1, Ideology 6.5 and Group-based anger 5.3; postal survey: Instrumentality, 4.5, Identity 4.1, Ideology 6.3 and Group-based anger 5.3).

² Beta's for grievances were for the Models 2, 3 and 4 respectively: .33, $p < .001$; .31, $p < .001$; .23, $p < .001$; those for efficacy were: .06, .02, .002 none of which were significant.

³ We focused on group-based anger as the prototypical emotion spurring protest behaviour (cf. van Zomeren et al. 2004), but obviously other emotions have their impact as well. Our data may give some indication in that direction. For inefficacious protesters frustrations and grievances correlated .41 ($p < .001$) whereas this correlation for their more efficacious counterparts is only .17 ($p = .02$). Moreover, grievances and despair were not related (.08, ns) for efficacious protesters whereas stronger grievances for inefficacious elicited more despair (.25, $p < .001$).

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104 *Revista de Psicología Social*, 2011, 26 (1), pp. 91-104

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